

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY LISBON

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AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

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AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 COPENHAGEN 2956

E.O.: 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EC, NATO, SP, DA

SUBJ: DANISH FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISIT TO SPAIN: A READOUT

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REF : COPENHAGEN 2853 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: AS THE RESULT OF FOREIGN MINISTER K. B. ANDERSEN'S PRE-
CEDENT-SETTING VISIT TO SPAIN, THE DANES ARE HEARTENED OVER THE
DEMOCRATIZATION PROGRESS ACHIEVED AND ARE "CAUTIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC"
ABOUT THE FUTURE. ANDERSEN WAS IMPRESSED WITH THE SINCERITY AND

DEDICATION TO DEMOCRATIC IDEALS HELD BY JUAN CARLOS AND SUAREZ BUT ALL AGREE THAT IMPORTANT PROBLEMS REMAIN TO BE SOLVED AFTER THE JUNE ELECTIONS. THE SPANIARDS SET OUT THEIR POSITION ON NATO (WILL NOT BE THE "DEMANDEUR") AND THE EC (FORMAL APPLICATION WILL BE SUBMITTED SHORTLY AFTER THE ELECTIONS BUT SPAIN WORRIES OVER PRE-MEMBERSHIP PREFERENCES). THE SPANIARDS ARE CONCERNED WITH THE MEDITERRANEAN AS A TROUBLE-AREA WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON MALTA. THE HOSTS ALSO ASKED THE DANES TO INTERCEDE IN THEIR BEHALF WITH THE ISRAELIS TO ENHANCE THE LATTER'S APPRECIATION OF SPANISH MID-EAST POLICY. OUR MFA SOURCE REMARKED THAT THE NORWEGIANS HAVE MORE PROBLEMS IN ADJUSTING TO POST-FRANCO SPAIN THAN THE DANES DO. END SUMMARY.

1. ON MAY 20, MFA'S POLITICAL DIRECTOR, OLE BIERRING, WHO ACCOMPANIED FOREIGN MINISTER K. B. ANDERSEN ON HIS MAY 16-19 VISIT TO SPAIN, PROVIDED THE AMBASSADOR WITH A DETAILED READOUT.

2. BIERRING CHARACTERIZED THE VISIT AS "HISTORIC" SINCE IT WAS THE FIRST SUCH VISIT BY A DANISH OR SCANDINAVIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SINCE THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR.

3. FOREIGN MINISTER ANDERSEN, BIERRING SAID, HAS LONG HELD A PARTICULAR INTEREST IN SPAIN AND ITS RIGHTFUL PLACE AS A FULLY PARTICIPATING MEMBER OF THE WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. "MANY OF THE IMPEDIMENTS WHICH PREVENTED THIS PARTICIPATION IN THE PAST HAVE DROPPED AWAY, AND IT IS CLEAR THAT SPAIN REALLY BELONGS TO EUROPE WHEN THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION IS COMPLETED." BIERRING CONTINUED BY SAYING THAT THE DANES BELIEVE THAT THE JUNE ELECTIONS ARE A VERY IMPORTANT, BUT NOT FINAL, STEP IN THIS PRO-CONFIDENTIAL

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CESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION. A NEW DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION MUST BE PUT IN PLACE WHICH BIERRING SAID THE SPANIARDS ESTIMATE WILL TAKE "A YEAR OR TWO." A GOVERNMENT MUST BE FORMULATED RESPONSIVE TO THE "WILL OF THE PEOPLE." THE GOVERNMENT MUST HAVE A FIRM BASIS IN THE CORTES. (ANDERSEN HAS BEEN QUOTED IN THE DANISH MEDIA THAT HE WAS "CAUTIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC" CONCERNING POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN SPAIN.)

4. BIERRING SAID THAT ANDERSEN BELIEVES THAT IT IS CLEAR THAT SPAIN IS MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. THE KING AND SUAREZ ARE PROCEEDING PROPERLY AND ANDERSEN WAS IMPRESSED WITH THEIR SINCERITY AND DEDICATION TO DEMOCRATIC IDEALS. IN ADDITION TO THE POLITICAL DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS, THE SPANIARDS ARE ALSO FACING FORMIDABLE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND THE NEED TO CHANGE THEIR SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS WHICH REMAIN STRUCTURED VERY MUCH AS THEY WERE IN THE PAST. BIERRING SAID THAT, FOR EXAMPLE, VERTICAL SYNDICALISM IS STILL IN PLACE WITH WORKERS AND OWNERS OF INDUSTRIES TOGETHER IN THE SAME "UNION." ON THE OTHER HAND, BIERRING DID NOTE THAT AFTER THE SPANISH MINISTER OF LABOR DEPARTS FROM THE UPCOMING ILO

CONFERENCE, THE LEADER OF THE SPANISH DELEGATION WILL BE THE HEAD OF THE PSOE UNION AND THAT NO "FRANCO UNIONISTS" ARE ATTENDING.

5. TURNING TO THE SPECIFICS OF ANDERSEN'S TALKS, BIERRING SAID THAT HIS FOREIGN MINISTER HAD A HALF-HOUR CONVERSATION WITH THE KING. JUAN CARLOS EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE GESTURE OF A GOOD WILL FROM THE DANES THAT ANDERSEN'S VISIT DEMONSTRATED. THIS GRATIFICATION WAS REINFORCED, SAID THE KING, BECAUSE OF THE DANES' LONG-STANDING AND OUTSPOKEN OPPOSITION TO FRANCO'S RULE. (COMMENT: THIS FORMULATION OF JUAN CARLOS' STATEMENT WAS REPEATED IN THE DANISH PRESS AND WAS APPARENTLY MISTAKENLY INTERPRETED TO MEAN THAT JUAN CARLOS ASSOCIATED HIMSELF WITH CONDEMNATION OF HIS PRE-DECESSOR'S REGIME.)

6. JUAN CARLOS RECALLED THAT AT THE BEGINNING OF HIS REIGN HE WAS ADVISED TO PROCEED SLOWLY WITH DEMOCRATIZATION BUT IT SOON BECAME EVIDENT THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO MOVE MUCH MORE QUICKLY THAN HIS AD-CONFIDENTIAL

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VISORS REALIZED. HE, TOO, BELIEVED THAT THE REAL PROBLEMS, POLITICALLY, ECONOMICALLY AND SOCIALLY, WOULD HAVE TO BE FACED AFTER THE ELECTIONS.

7. THE SPANIARDS, OF COURSE, ARE CONCERNED OVER THE BASQUE SITUATION WHICH, THEY THINK, WILL NOT CAUSE A POSTPONEMENT IN THE ELECTIONS. THEY ARE LOOKING TOWARD SOME FORMULA OF INCREASED LOCAL AUTONOMY FOR THE BASQUES SUCH AS WAS ENJOYED BEFORE FRANCO. THE SPANIARDS ARE DISCUSSING THE PROS AND CONS OF A FEDERAL SYSTEM MODELED AFTER THE FRG AND/OR THE REGIONAL SET-UP IN ITALY.

8. DURING ANDERSEN'S 45 MINUTES WITH SUAREZ, THE LATTER WENT OVER EVENTS IN SPAIN SINCE HE BECAME PRIME MINISTER LAST JULY. SUAREZ SAID THAT HE WAS AWARE OF THE NEGATIVE REACTION, BOTH IN EUROPE GENERALLY AND IN SPAIN, BECAUSE OF HIS PAST ASSOCIATIONS. AFTER BEING APPROACHED BY THE KING TO TAKE THE PREMIERSHIP, HE REFLECTED CAREFULLY AND AT SOME LENGTH BEFORE AGREEING TO DO SO. BIERRING COMMENTED HERE THAT PSOE LEADER FILIPE GONZALEZ, WHOM ANDERSEN ALSO MET, BELIEVES THAT SUAREZ' LEADERSHIP IS NEEDED IN SPAIN NOW, ESPECIALLY TO DEAL WITH THE RIGHTISTS. GONZALEZ IS UNDERSTANDABLY, HOWEVER, NOT HAPPY THAT SUAREZ WILL RUN IN THE JUNE ELECTIONS BUT IS CERTAINLY WILLING TO WORK WITH HIM IN A POSSIBLE FUTURE COALITION. GONZALEZ GAVE ASSURANCES THAT HIS PARTY WOULD NOT JOIN IN A POPULAR FRONT WITH THOSE TO HIS LEFT. SUAREZ HIMSELF, IN SPEAKING OF GONZALEZ, EXPRESSED SATISFACTION WITH THE LATTER'S CONDUCT IN THIS PRE-ELECTION PERIOD.

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R 201650Z MAY 77
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AMEMBASSY MADRID
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9. ANDERSEN'S PRINCIPAL DISCUSSIONS OCCURRED DURING TWO SESSIONS
OF AN HOUR AND A HALF EACH WITH SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA.
ANDERSEN ASKED HIS COUNTERPART WHAT SUAREZ INTENDED TO DO VIS-
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A-VIS NATO. AS BACKGROUND, OREJA SAID THAT THE SPANIARDS HAD RE-
GARDED WESTERN EUROPEAN REJECTION DURING FRANCO'S ERA AS AIMED
NOT JUST AT THE FRANCO REGIME BUT AT THE SPANISH PEOPLE THEM-
SELVES. OREJA ALSO RECALLED THE SPANISH TRADITION OF NEUTRALITY.

HE SAID THAT IN A POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIP WITH NATO, THE SPANIARDS WOULD NOT WANT TO BE IN THE POSITION OF "DEMANDEUR." THERE SHOULD BE A MUTUAL RAPPROACHEMENT AND AGREEMENT THAT BOTH SPAIN AND NATO WOULD BENEFIT FROM SPAIN'S ADHERENCE TO THE ALLIANCE.

10. IN RESPONSE TO ANDERSEN'S QUESTION, OREJA SAID THAT THE BASE FACILITIES ACCORDED TO THE AMERICANS CAUSE NO PRESENT PROBLEMS AND THAT THERE IS NO SPANISH ANIMOSITY TOWARD AMERICANS. AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME AFTER THE ELECTIONS, OREJA THOUGHT THAT MOST OF THE SPANISH PARTIES WOULD WANT TO CONVERT THESE BASES INTO NATO BASES. BIERRING COMMENTED THAT ALTHOUGH THE PSOE'S GONZALEZ REMAINS OPPOSED IN PRINCIPLE TO SPANISH MEMBERSHIP IN NATO, HE TOLD THE DANES THAT HE WOULD GO ALONG IF IT WERE APPARENT THAT A MAJORITY OF SPANIARDS FAVORED THIS ASSOCIATION. FURTHERMORE, IF A COALITION BETWEEN THE SOCIALISTS AND THE CENTRISTS IN A NEW GOVERNMENT EMERGES FROM THE ELECTIONS, GONZALEZ WOULD NOT VETO SPANISH MEMBERSHIP IN NATO.

11. BIERRING SAID THAT HE ASKED HIS SPANISH COUNTERPART WHETHER WARSAW PACT AND SOVIET "WARNINGS" ON AN ENLARGED NATO AND RESULTING PRESSURES ON YUGOSLAVIA TO JOIN THE WARSAW PACT HAVE AFFECTED SPANISH THINKING. THE SPANIARDS REPLIED NEGATIVELY AND ALSO BELIEVED THAT ANY PRESSURES ON YUGOSLAVIA WILL BE FUTILE.

12. CONTRARY TO THEIR RESERVED APPROACH TO NATO MEMBERSHIP, THE SPANIARDS PLAN TO APPLY FORMALLY TO THE EC SOON AFTER THE JUNE ELECTIONS. IN THE PERIOD BEFORE FULL MEMBERSHIP CAN BE ACHIEVED, THE SPANIARDS WOULD LIKE TO IMPROVE THE PRESENT AGREEMENT WITH THE EC WHICH PREDATES THE 1973 ENLARGEMENT. THE SPANIARDS BELIEVE THAT EXISTING PREFERENCES, PARTICULARLY IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS, ARE NOT SUBSTANTIAL ENOUGH. BIERRING NOTED THAT THE DANES ARE ESSENTIALLY SYMPATHETIC WITH SPAIN'S ASPIRATIONS IN THIS AREA. FOR
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UNLIKE FRANCE AND ITALY, FOR EXAMPLE, THE DANISH AND SPANISH ECONOMIES ARE LARGELY COMPLEMENTARY.

13. THE SECOND "PROBLEM" IN THE PRE-EC MEMBERSHIP PERIOD THAT THE SPANIARDS RAISED WAS THAT THEIR FISHERMEN WERE BEING SQUEEZED OUT FROM THEIR TRADITIONAL FISHING AREAS AS THE RESULT OF THE EXPANDED EC FISHERIES ZONE. BIERRING REMARKED THAT UNFORTUNATELY THE SPANIARDS HAVE VERY LITTLE TO TRADE WITH, SINCE THE MEDITERRANEAN IS LARGELY FISHED OUT AND THE CONTIGUOUS SPANISH ATLANTIC AREAS ARE ALSO NOT RICH.

14. IN RESPONSE TO ANDERSEN'S INQUIRY, OREJA SAID THAT SPAIN IS INTERESTED IN "EVENTUAL" MEMBERSHIP IN THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE BUT IS NOT PLANNING TO PURSUE THIS IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

15. THE SPANIARDS DISCUSSED THEIR MED-EAST POLICY IN TERMS OF

THEIR TRADITIONAL TIES WITH THE ARABS, WHICH THE SPANIARDS WRYLY REMARKED HAVE PRODUCED "MORE KISSES THAN CASH." THE SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTER SPECIFICALLY ASKED THE DANES TO ARRANGE A CONTACT WITH THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT IN ORDER TO ATTEMPT TO MAKE THE LATTER APPRECIATE THE SPANISH POSITION. THE SPANIARDS, OF COURSE, UNDERSTAND THAT THEIR POSITION WOULD HAVE TO CHANGE WHEN THEY BECOME FULL MEMBERS OF THE EC.

16. THE SPANIARDS VOICED THEIR PARTICULAR CONCERN OVER MEDITERRANEAN DEVELOPMENTS, INCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY OF CONFRONTATION IN THE AREA BETWEEN THE TWO SUPER POWERS, THE GREEK-TURKEY-CYPRUS DISPUTE, AND MALTA. THE SPANIARDS ARE CONSIDERING "TAKING NOTE" OF MALTESE NEUTRALITY BUT MAKING IT CLEAR THAT SPAIN BEARS NO RESPONSIBILITY FOR GUARANTEEING IT. THE SPANIARDS ARE PREPARED TO CONTRIBUTE TO ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR THE ISLAND.

17. FINALLY, BIERRING NOTED THAT THE DANES AND SPANIARDS AGREED TO EMBARK ON NEGOTIATIONS FOR CULTURAL AND SOCIAL SECURITY AGREEMENTS IN THE AUTUMN.

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18. BIERRING THEN COMMENTED THAT THE DANES WILL HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO BRIEF THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE NINE AT THE LEEDS FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING THIS WEEKEND AND WILL MAKE THE USUAL REPORT AT NATO. AS IS CUSTOMARY, COPIES OF THE DANISH MEMOS OF CONVERSATION AND OTHER COMMENTS ON THE VISIT ARE BEING SENT DIRECTLY TO FOREIGN MINISTERS IN THE OTHER NORDIC CAPITALS. BIERRING OBSERVED THAT THE NORWEGIANS WILL HAVE "MUCH MORE DIFFICULTY" IN ACCOMMODATING THEIR THINKING TO POST-FRANCO DEVELOPMENTS IN SPAIN THAN THE DANES. IT WAS DANISH MEMBERSHIP IN THE EC AND LAST SPRING'S VISIT HERE BY AREILZA WHICH "BROKE THE ICE" AS FAR AS THE DANES WERE CONCERNED.
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